

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 03482 01 OF 02 051810Z

41

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-07 IO-11 ACDA-05 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00

NSCE-00 INRE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

OMB-01 SAJ-01 /078 W

----- 016112

O R 051620Z MAR 76

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMEDIATE 0904

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

USMISSION GENEVA

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL MUNICH

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 3482

E. O. 11562:

TAGS: PINT, UR

SUBJ: 25TH PARTY CONGRESS: NATIONAL LEADERSHIP CHANGES

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 03482 01 OF 02 051810Z

1. SUMMARY. L.I. BREZHNEV WAS REELECTED AS GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE CPSU, MARCH 5, AND ALMOST ALL OF HIS LEADERSHIP COLLEAGUES WERE RETAINED IN OFFICE WITH HIM. SEVERAL SIGNIFICANT CHANGES WERE ANNOUNCED. D.S. POLYANSKIY, MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE, WAS NOT RE-ELECTED TO THE POLITBURO. CANDIDATE POLITBURO MEMBERS G. A. ROMANOV (FIRST SECRETARY LENINGRAD OVKOM) AND D.S. USTINOV (SECRETARY OF THE CC) WERE PROMOTED TO FULL POLITBURO MEMBERSHIP. G. A. ALIYEV (FIRST SECRETARY AZERBAYDZHAN) WAS ADDED TO THE LIST OF CANDIDATE POLITBURO MEMBERS. AND TWO ADDITIONAL SECRETARIES OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE WERE CHOSEN: M.V. ZIMYANIN, CHIEF EDITOR OF PRAVDA, AND K.U. CHERNENKO, CHIEF OF THE GENERAL DEPARTMENT IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTION TO THE PARTY'S HIGHEST ORGANS REINFORCE THE IMAGE OF GENERAL STABILITY AND CONTINUITY DISPLAYED THROUGHOUT THE CONGRESS. END SUMMARY.

2. TO NO ONE'S SURPRISE BREZHNEV ANNOUNCED FROM THE PODIUM OF THE 25TH CPSU CONGRESS THAT HE HAD BEEN ELECTED BY THE FIRST PLENUM OF THE NEW CENTRAL COMMITTEE AS GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE; THE ANNOUNCEMENT WAS GREETED WITH THUNDEROUS APPLAUSE. THE GENERAL SECRETARY THEN PROCEEDED TO READ OUT THE LIST OF POLITBURO MEMBERS STARTING WITH HIMSELF AND THEREAFTER MENTIONING EACH MEMBER IN ALPHABETICAL, RATHER THAN RANK, ORDER -- A DEPARTURE FROM THE PREVIOUS TWO CONGRESSES -- MUCH TO THE DISMAY OF KREMLIN-OLOGISTS.

3. EVERY MEMBER OF THE OLD POLITBURO WAS RETURNED WITH THE EXCEPTION OF D.S. POLYANSKIY. IN ADDITION TO BREZHNEV, APPLAUSE WAS PARTICULARLY STRONG FOR KOSYGIN, KUNAYEV, PODGORNY, AND SUSLOV. TWO NEW POLITBURO MEMBERS, G.V. ROMANOV AND D.S. USTINOV, WERE ELECTED; BOTH HAD BEEN CANDIDATE POLITBURO MEMBERS PREVIOUSLY. ALL CANDIDATE POLITBURO MEMBERS NOT PROMOTED WERE RETAINED. G.I. ALIYEV, FIRST SECRETARY OF AZERBAYDZHAN WAS ADDED, FILLING THE CAUCASUS' SLOT LEFT VACANT SINCE MZHAVANADZE'S REMOVAL IN 1972.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 03482 01 OF 02 051810Z

4. BREZHNEV THEN READ THE LIST OF PARTY SECRETARIES IN PROTOCOL RATHER THAN ALPHABETICAL ORDER. ALL PREVIOUS SECRETARIES WERE RETAINED AND TWO NEW SECRETARIES ADDED -- M.V. ZIMYANIN (CHIEF EDITOR OF PRAVDA) AND K.U. CHERNENKO (CHIEF OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S GENERAL DEPARTMENT). THE ORDER IN WHICH SECRETARIES WERE MENTIONED IS AS FOLLOWS: BREZHNEV, SUSLOV, KIRILENKO, KULAKOV, USTINOV, PONOMAREV, KAPITONOV, DOLGIKH, KATUSHEV, ZIMYANIN, AND CHERNENKO.

5. THE GENERAL SECRETARY ALSO NOTED THAT A. YA. PEL'SHE WILL REMAIN AS CHAIRMAN OF THE PARTY CONTROL COMMITTEE AND THAT G.I. SIZOV WILL STAY AS CHAIRMAN OF THE CNETRAL AUDITING COMMISSION.

6. COMMENT: WHILE THERE ARE A FEW CHANGES AND SURPRISES IN THE RESULTS ANNOUNCED TODAY, THE ELECTIONS FOR THE MOST PART CONVEY A "STEADY AS SHE GOES" IMPRESSION THAT HAS CHARACTERIZED THE ENTIRE CONGRESS. OF THE 25 MEN IN THE POLITBURO/SECRETARIST LEADERSHIP PRIOR TO THIS CONGRESS, ONLY ONE -- POLYANSKIY -- HAS BEEN REMOVED. GIVEN THE AGRICULTURE FAILURES IN 1972 AND PARTICULARLY IN 1975 HIS REMOVAL IS NO REAL SURPRISE. INDEED, HE WAS THE ONLY MEMBER OF THE LEADERSHIP TO HAVE CRITICISM AIMED DIRECTLY AT HIS ORGANIZATION AND WORK AT THIS CONGRESS. AND WAS CRITICIZED BY NAME AT THE PRECEDING UKRAINIAN CONGRESS. IT IS STILL NOT CLEAR WHETHER HE WILL RETAIN HIS CENTRAL COMMITTEE SEAT AND MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE PORTFOLIO. IN ANY CASE, HIS REMOVAL FROM THE POLITBURO ELIMINATES ONE MORE HIGH POLITBURO OFFICIAL NOT CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH BREZHNEV AND PLACES AGRICULTURAL POLICY EVEN MORE FIRMLY IN THE HANDS OF THE BREZHNEV-KULAKOV TEAM.

7. THE PROMOTION FOR ROMANOV HAS BEEN RUMORED A NUMBER OF TIMES DURING THE PAST YEAR AND WAS INDICATED BY THE ATTENTION HE RECEIVED AT THE CONGRESS WHEN HE CHAIRED A SESSION OF THE PROCEEDINGS. HIS RELATIONSHIP TO BREZHNEV IS NOT ENTIRELY CLEAR. HIS CAREER IS BASED SOLELY IN LENINGRAD AND, THUS, DOES NOT OVERLAP WITH BREZHNEV. YET, IN SPEECHES AND IN MEETINGS WITH FOREIGNERS HE HAS PRAISED BREZHNEV HIGHLY AND INDICATED HIS CLOSE WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH THE GENERAL SECRETARY. ON BALANCE, HIS PROMOTION IS PROBABLY CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MOSCOW 03482 01 OF 02 051810Z

A PLUS FOR BREZHNEV.

8. USTINOV'S PROMOTION HAS NOT BEEN EXPECTED. HOWEVER, GIVEN HIS LEADING ROLE IN THE SOVIET MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX AND HIS CLOSE ATTENTION TO QUESTIONS OF DEFENSE POLICY GENERALLY, HIS ELEVATION IS NO SHOCK. WE SUSPECT THAT HIS PROMOTION, AS WELL AS THAT OF ROMANOV, IS DE JURE RECOGNITION FOR A JOB WELL DONE. IN USTINOV'S CASE IT IS ALSO OBVIOUS RECOGNITION FOR THE POLICY ROLE HE ALREADY HAD IN DEFENSE AND SPACE MATTERS. HE PRESUMABLY JOINS MARSHALLE GRECHKHO IN THE POLITBURO AS AN ADVOCATE OF A STRONG SOVIET DEFENSE POSTURE.

9. WE HAD ASSUMED THAT A PARTY LEADER IN ONE OF THE THREE

CAUCASUS REPUBLICS WOULD BE GIVEN A CANDIDATE SEAT ON THE POLITBURO. THE MAIN QUESTION WAS WHETHER SHEVARDNADZE (FIRST SECRETARY OF GEORGIA) OR ALIYEV WOULD BE CHOSEN. BOTH CONSISTENTLY HAVE PRAISED BREZHNEV WITH ORIENTAL EFFUSIVENESS AT EVERY OPPORTUNITY. ALIYEV HAS NOW WON THE RACE. HE IS THE ONLY LEADERSHIP MEMBER WHOSE CAREER DEVELOPED WITHIN THE INTERNAL SECURITY ORGANS. DESPITE HIS LACK OF CAREER LINKS TO BREZHNEV, HOWEVER, HIS SUPPORT FOR THE GENERAL SECRETARY AND BREZHNEV'S POLICIES INDICATES THAT THIS CHANGE ALSO IS A PLUS FOR BREZHNEV.

10. IT HAD BEEN EXPECTED THAT A SECRETARY WOULD BE APPOINTED TO TAKE CHARGE OF THE CULTURAL FIELD AT THIS

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 03482 02 OF 02 051840Z

43

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-07 IO-11 ACDA-05 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00

NSCE-00 INRE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

OMB-01 SAJ-01 /078 W

----- 016453

O R 051620Z MAR 76

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 905

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

USMISSION GENEVA

USDELSALT TWO GENEVA

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL MUNICH

USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USLO PEKING
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USDEL MBFR VIENNA

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 2 OF 2 MOSCOW 3482

CONGRESS (TO REPLACE DEMICHEV), BUT THERE WAS NO
SOLID INDICATION WHO THIS WOULD BE. OF THE TWO NEW
APPOINTMENTS TO THE SECRETARIAT, M.V. ZIMYANIN WILL
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 03482 02 OF 02 051840Z

PROBABLY FILLTHIS SLOT. INDEED, HE WAS ONE OF A NUMBER
OF PEOPLE RUMORED TO BE UNDER CONSIDERATION
FOR THE POST. HE HAS SERVED AS CHIEF EDIOTR OF PRAVDA
FOR THE PAST ELEVEN YEARS, A SIGNIFICANT APPARATUS ASSIGN-
MENT. BEFORE THAT, HOWEVER, HE WAS IN DIPLOMATIC WORK AND
SERVED AS AMBASSADOR TO NORTH VIETNAM AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND
BRIEFLY AS DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. EARLIER
IN HIS CAREER HE HELD IMPORTANT PARTY POSTS IN BELORUSSIA.
HE WOULD SEEM TO HAVE A CAREER ASSOCIATION WITH GROMYKO AND SYSLOV,
WHO HAS GENERAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST
MOVEMENT AFFAIRS AND EVEN WITH MAZUROV AND MASHEROV. IT IS
ALSO PROBABLE THAT HIS MOST RECENT ASSIGNMENT WAS UNDER THE
SUPERVISION OF SUSLOV. THUS, THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF HIS
APPOINTMENT ARE NOT CLEAR AT THIS TIME. IF HE DOES FILL THE CULTURAL
POST, HE CAN BE EXPECTED TO CONTINUE A HARD LINE APPROACH
TOWARD THE ARTS AND INTELLECTUAL DISSIDENTS.

11. K.U. CHERNEKO'S APPOINTMENT HAD BEEN FORE-
SHADOWED BY A SERIES OF AWARDS HE RECEIVED ON MARCH 2. UP TO
THIS TIME THERE WAS NO PARTICULAR INDICATION OF HIS IMPENDING
RISE. CHERENKO'S CAREER ASSOCIATION WITH THE GENERAL
SECRETARY EXTENDS OVER MORE THAN 20YEARS. IN HIS PAST WORK
HE HAS SPECIALIZED IN GENERAL ADMINISTRATION AND IN
AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA WORK. HIS CURRENT
ASSIGNMENT AS CHIEF OF THE GENERAL DEPARTMENT IN-
VOLVES THE PROCESSING OF COMMUNICATIONS AND CORRE-
PONDENCE WITHIN THE POLITBURO AND SECRETARIAT. WHAT
HIS PRECISE RESPONSIBILITIES WILL BE WITHIN THE SECRETARIAT
REMAINS UNCERTAIN. HE MAY, OF COURSE, MERELY CONTINUE WITH
HIS PRESENT CC APPARATUS FUNCTION. HOWEVER, IF
KAPITONOV MOVES IN THE FUTURE TO FILL THE VACANT TRADE
UNION POST, AS HAS BEEN RUMORED, CHERENKO MAY BECOME
THE PARTY ORGANS SECRETARY. WHATEVER HIS RESPONSIBILITIES,

HIS PROMOTION TO THE SECRETARIAT BRINGS A CLOSE SUPPORTER OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY INTO THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF THE PARTY AND UNQUESTIONABLY STRENGTHENS BREZHNEV'S POSITION WITHIN THE SECRETARIAT.

12. THE PROTOCOL RANKING OF SECRETARIES OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE GIVEN BY BREZHNEV AT THE 25TH CONGRESS WAS SIMILAR TO THAT GIVEN AFTER THE 24TH. THE ONLY CHANGE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 03482 02 OF 02 051840Z

WAS THAT PONOMAREV WAS LISTED AHEAD OF KAPITONOV AND OTHER SECRETARIES, AS BEFITS HIS CANDIDATE POLITBURO STATUS. THE NEW SECRETARIES WERE LISTED AT THE END. IT IS OF POSSIBLE INTEREST THAT DOLGIKH WAS LISTED AHEAD OF KATUSHEV, WHEREAS THE SEATING ARRANGEMENT AT THE CONGRESS INDICATED THE REVERSE ORDER.

13. WE THINK IT IS WORTH NOTING THAT KAPITONOV (FOR THREE CONGRESSES) AND KATUSHEV (FOR TWO) HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO ADVANCE FROM THEIR SECRETARIAT POSITION INTO A FORMAL EXECUTIVE ROLE IN THE POLITBURO, EVEN THOUGH OTHERS (KULAKOV, USTINOV, DEMICHEV, AND PONOMAREV) HAVE DONE SO. THE REASONS FOR THIS ARE UNCERTAIN-- PARTICULARLY IN KATUSHEV'S CASE. KATUSHEV IS SUPPOSEDLY A BREZHNEV PROTEGE AND IS VERY IMPORTANT IN COMMUNIST BLOC RELATIONS. SOME OBSERVERS HAVE FELT THAT HIS AGE, PERSONAL CONNECTIONS AND AMBITION MIGHT MAKE HIM A CONTENDER FOR THE TOP JOB WHEN THE BREZHNEV LEADERSHIP RETIRES, AS YET, HOWEVER, THERE IS NO INDICATION THAT HE HAS THE POLITICAL STRENGTH TO DO SO; INDEED, THIS CONGRESS HAS LEFT HIM IN A STILL VERY JUNIOR POSITION WITHIN THE LEADERSHIP, WELL BEHIND OTHER PRESUMABLY AMBITIOUS APPARATUS OFFICIALS-- SHCHERBITSKIY, KULAKOV, AND ROMANOV.

14. THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTION ARE A DEFINITE PLUS FOR BREZHNEV. THEY ENDORSE BREZHNEV'S MANAGEMENT OF THE PARTY AND INDICATE GENERAL SATISFACTION WITH THE POLICY LINE AND THE POLITICAL TEAM CARRYING IT OUT. A POTENTIAL SCAPEGOAT HAS BEEN DESIGNATED FOR THE AGRICULTURAL FAILURES BUT OVERALL POLICY IN THIS AREA HAS BEEN AFFIRMED. THERE IS ALMOST NO INDICATION THAT THE REGIME IS PREPARING FOR A LEADERSHIP CHANGE IN THE NEAR FUTURE OR IS IN ANY WAY REJUVENATING ITSELF. ONE POTENTIAL FUTURE CONTENDER (ROMANOV) HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED BUT NO ONE AMONG THE RELATIVELY JUNIOR OFFICIALS HAS BEEN SUBSTANTIALLY ADVANCE OVER HIS PEERS. WHILE WE DO NOT DISCOUNT THE POSSIBILITY THAT SOME LEADERSHIP CHANGES MIGHT BE MADE DURING THE NEXT SESSION OF THE SUPREME SOVIET/OR AT THE NEXT PLENUM

OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, WE BELIEVE BREZHNEV REMAINS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MOSCOW 03482 02 OF 02 051840Z

FIRMLY IN THE SADDLE WITH NO REAL RIVALS FOR HIS JOB.

FURTHERMORE, WE HAVE NOT SEEM ANY EVIDENCE AT THIS
CONGRESS OF FACTIONAL MANEUVERING WHICH WOULD CONFIRM
THAT A "POWER STRUGGLE" IS INDEED TAKING PLACE BEHIND
THE KREMLIN WALLS.

STOESSEL

BT

#3482

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptoning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PARTY MEETINGS, COMMUNISTS, POLITICAL LEADERS, REORGANIZATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 05 MAR 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ullricre
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976MOSCOW03482
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: DC ADJUSTED PER MOSCOW 4428
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760084-1169
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760390/aaaadbvq.tel
Line Count: 354
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ullricre
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 25 MAR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <25 MAR 2004 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <30 JUL 2004 by ullricre>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: 25TH PARTY CONGRESS: NATIONAL LEADERSHIP CHANGES CONFIDENTIAL
TAGS: PINT, UR, (CHERNEKO, K U), (ALIYEV, G A), (POLYANSKIY, D S), (USTINOV, D S)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006